5) The tying of the cotton string.

854 857 When the child "tiyelanyana" viz. "becomes a little firm," the mother, having to plough her fields and to cook the food, begins to seat him on the sandy soil, after having made a kind of hole of about five inches in depth. We have seen Thonga babies already sitting at the age of two months. But this "dumping" hardly meets all the requirements, and the mother looks for a girl to help her to take care of the baby (wa ku tlanga na ye, to play with him). She puts the child in the charge of an elder sister or a cousin ; a girl of five to ten is quite strong enough for the purpose. I have often admired the patience of these miniature nurses, sometimes not very much bigger than the child they carry, with their very troublesome babies.

852 715 But very soon the child begins to crawl (kasa) and this is the time when a very striking rite is performed. This rite seems to be practised all over the tribe, but it has more importance in the Northern clans than amongst the Ba-Ronga. I shall here give the description of Viguet, who belonged to the Tsungu clan and had emigrated to the Spelonken. My readers must forgive me if I cannot tell the story with all its details and if I am obliged to write some of them in Latin (1).

851 833 766 842 These are the ipsissima verba of my informant : "This is a great law amongst the Thongas. When a child begins to crawl, even before, the *puri* is tied round his waist. The *puri* is a cotton (2) string. Father and mother fix the day ; if they forget to do so, their parents, (the grandparents) will remind them of the law. They must have sexual intercourse, but in such a way that the mother will not become pregnant, s. n. i. (Annotatio 2)[1]. The mother will have to take in her hands "their filth" (thyaka ra bona) smear the string with it and tie it round the child. It will

(1) A more complete description of this rite and of some others related to the taboos of the Thongas will be found in the Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie, Oct. 1910, Paris.

(2) There are plants of cotton probably subspontaneous in the Low Country of the Transvaal of Delagoa Bay.

1 [See p. 616 IN these categories or IN 116--Analyst]

851 766 833 remain there till it falls to pieces. After this operation the child is "grown up" and three things are allowed which were taboo before :

1) The child, if he dies, can be buried on the hill, in dry soil. Before the *boha puri* he would have been buried in wet soil, near the river, as is customary with twins and children who have cut their upper teeth first.

2) He can participate in the strange purification called *hlamba ndjaka* which takes place after the death of one of the inhabitants of the village (See ceremonies of death).

852 766 833 821 842 3) The parents can again have conjugal intercourse, though they must avoid conception till the child is weaned. Before this ceremony it was absolutely prohibited, and should they have sinned in this respect and the mother have conceived, they would be very guilty! It is a dangerous taboo! They would have "stolen" the child, stolen it from the law (yiba nawen). The child would not have "entered the law." It would be useless to tie the string round him in order to repair the evil done. Should he live long, should he even become an old man, he will have to be buried in wet soil, otherwise the rain would be prevented from falling.

Amongst the Malulekes and the Hlengwes such children are even burnt after their death. We shall speak later on about the mysterious relation established by the Thongas between these children, their burial, and the rain.

852 854 Amongst the Ba-Ronga this rite is called *boha nshale* (to tie the cotton) and can be performed in the same way or even more simply by the father (Annotatio 3).[1] Parents, when they have duly tied the string on the little one, are said to have *fuya nwana*, viz. taken possession of the child.

Amongst them again, another thing is then allowed which was taboo before. The child can be carried on the shoulders without ntehe by the arms alone (hi minkono).

851 It is clear that the tying of the cotton string means the official reception of the child into the family, even into human society. Before that, he was hardly considered as a human being, he was *shilo* (a thing), *khuna* (an incomplete being). Now he is *nkulu*,

1 [See p. 516 in these categories or in IIA - Analyst]

881 304 177 is the old Thonga custom, and has been preserved by the women in its original form, at least amongst the Ba-Ronga ; they frequently pass a ring through the small opening thus produced. The second was practised by the Zulu-Ngonis, and was adopted by the Thonga men in order to resemble their conquerors. The result is an ugly hole. This is not a law imposed by the chief ; it is however universally observed. When a lad does not pierce his ears, his comrades mock him, saying. " U toya ! " " You are a coward ! We shall put a spoonful of porridge in this big ear of yours ! " (Viz. It will hold food because it is not pierced !)

881 304 824 833 The operation is performed in the winter by a man who knows how to do it. Before it is begun, the boy bites the *ndjao*, the root of a kind of juncus which is considered the best means of strengthening the virile force. The doctor introduces into the hole a small piece of reed ; he takes it out every day to wash the wound and puts it in again to keep the hole open. As long as the ear is not healed, the lad must eat his food without salt : he must not go about in the kraals and partake of the porridge of other people, because this food might have been prepared by women having intercourse with their husbands (ba ku khila) and this would make him very ill (1). He must also keep away from girls. When he is healed, he takes away the piece of hard reed and replaces it by a pretty white object.

304 178 Some Thongas tatoo themselves, or used to do so formerly, but this custom is disappearing and is now preserved only by women. We shall describe it in the chapter on the evolution of the woman, as well as the *kleta* custom, the pointing of the teeth.

It is probable that in former times the taboo character of these various ceremonies was more marked that now. At present they are merely a *shihila sha tiko*, a custom of the country.

(1) This alimentary taboo, as well as the interdiction of sexual relations, ways of intercourse with married people, clearly shows that the piercing of the ears is a ritual passage. (p. 74).

765 These rites are somewhat different in the Hlabi and Ronga clans.
783 They are called in the Northern clans *hlamba ndjaka*, in the
834 Southern *lohla khombo*. I will begin with the description of the first, as being the most characteristic. Viguet, who has seen them practised, and who took part in them himself, gave me a graphic description of them.

Ndjaka means two things. Firstly, the objects left by the deceased, which will pass to his heirs in the course of time. The heirs are called *badyi ba ndjaka*, the eaters of the ndjaka. But *ndjaka* also signifies the frightful malediction accompanying death : "it is something which kills a great many men." Therefore the *ndjaka* must be washed away ; *hlamba* means precisely to wash away.

This malediction or dangerous impurity contaminates objects, which must be cleansed by the sprinkling (phunga) as we have seen ; but it affects still more deeply the village as a whole, the *muti*, the organism which is at the base of all Thonga society, and which has a life of its own, a collective life. That life must be purified. During the whole mourning, and even during the last days of the deceased, when death was threatening, all sexual relations have been forbidden. Why ? Because the village was in a state of contamination... "Muti wu tjumile." It cannot return to the ordinary course of life without a special collective purification.

765 Let us see how this is managed on a particularly serious occasion,
783 when the headman or other great personage dies. Some weeks
835 after the burial, all the married people of the village assemble, the men apart, the women apart. They discuss in what order the different couples must proceed to the purifying act. They question each other to know if each one has duly observed the law of continence. Should one of them confess that he has sinned (dyoha), he will have to take the lead. Should he have sinned and not confess it, he will be very guilty. But he himself will suffer for his bad action ; he has stolen the inheritance (a yibe ndjaka), and it will not be wonderful if he begins to cough, grows thin and dies of consumption! If there has been no transgression of the law, then the master of the mourning will have to begin. He goes out of the village with his wife

765 to the bush. There they have sexual relations in the ritual
783 fashion, viz. s. n. i. (See Annotatio 2)[1] They come back by
833 separate ways. The woman has taken with her a pot full of water ; she goes straight with it to a certain spot, which has been decided upon during the discussion, either in front of the main entrance of the village or at the door of the hut. There she washes her hands which contain "their impurity" (thyaka ra bona). All the other couples do the same, each woman coming in her turn to cleanse her impurity at the same place. When this is over, the men also come to this spot and stamp on the ground. Sticks belonging to absent young men, or a piece of clothing of a girl who happens to be away from home, are also brought to this spot and are purified. The same is done to the straps of the ntehe of the infant, as we have seen, but he is not allowed to be present, as it might cause his death. When the purifying act is finished in all its phases, men and women go to the river and bathe; the men higher up, the women lower down. (Annotatio 6)[2]

Such is the *hlamba ndjaka* amongst the Thongas of the North, when the life of the village has been deeply affected by the death of an important member of the community. The rite is performed with less publicity when a child dies. Then the act takes place, not outside, in the bush, but inside the hut, as it is a private mourning. Should the husband have had regular intercourse with his wife before this purification has been carried out, it is a very great sin. His wife will go and confess their fault to one of the women of the village. This woman will tell it to her husband's mother, who will have to find the remedy. The guilty husband must not eat at all... If he eats, he will have eaten the contamination of death (u mitile rifu). The *hlamba ndjaka* of the whole village will have to take place. (Annotatio 7)[2]

765 The hlamba ndjaka concerns first of all the inhabitants of the
783 mortuary village, but it sometimes extends to the parents of the
595 women of that village, who dwell, of course, in other places. If the first wife of a man dies, his second wife, the one with whom the widower has begun the purifying operation at home, will have to go to her own parents *to give them water* (ku ha mati), as they say, viz, to cleanse them. She takes with her in a pot a portion of the

1 [See p. 676 in these categories or in 116--Analyst]
2 [See p 677 in these categories or in 116--Analyst]

765 783 345 water used for the purification, arriving early in the morning in the neighbourhood of the paternal kraal, and calls her mother. Then she washes her hands on the spot and all her relatives will come and stamp on the ground. This is considered a great duty which a married daughter ought never to forget, otherwise she is said to have turned her back on her parents (a ba fularelile). They will be angry with her and not visit her for at least a year (Annotatio 8)[1]. The woman who has done this is called "the one who has cleansed the inheritance" (muhlantsi wa ndjaka). She has taken upon her the contamination, but she will not suffer from it, because she belongs to another family, and the contamination of death is dangerous more especially to the people who are of the same blood as the deceased. This woman will assuredly be praised and even rewarded with two hoes. When she goes to her relatives "to give them water," she will make a present of these two hoes to her father, who will say: "All right! You have cleansed those people." Then she will have the right of adorning herself with the bracelets of her deceased co-wife! Old women no longer having sexual intercourse are allowed to appropriate the old clothing of a deceased woman.

765 783 833 The Ba-Ronga do not know the expression hlamba ndjaka. They have a corresponding rite, performed in the same manner, which they call *lahla khombo*. *Khombo* means misfortune, *lahla* to throw away. It is the medicine of death (muri wa lifu), said Magingi, an old heathen of Rikatla. It is also said "to heal the mourning" (daha nkosi). This rite more especially concerns the grave-diggers. The one who carried the legs of the deceased begins. The sexual relations take place very early in the morning. When his wife comes back, she washes her hands at the door of her hut, and all the inhabitants of the village come and stamp on the wet place; then they enter the hut. The doctor comes and prepares a steam bath for the man. Then the second grave-digger performs his *lahla khombo*, and the same gathering of all the members of the community takes place before his hut. Afterwards the village is pure. But if the grave-diggers are cleansed, the widows are not yet purified, and we shall see that, for them, the *lahla khombo* will last much longer.

1 [See p. 577 In these categories or in 116 - Archivist]

595 lady of the hut. The first wife is certainly the most respected; she is called the "great one" (nsati lwe' nkulu); those who are taken in marriage afterwards being the "little wives." She is the true wife and acts as such in some old rites, those which accompany widowhood and the foundation of the village, as we shall see.

When speaking of divorce, we shall notice the principal causes of quarrel between married people and how they are dealt with.

As regards conjugal relations, I have explained them as fully as was possible to me in the paper already quoted (*Revue d'ethnologie et de sociologie*, Paris. Ernest Leroux, 1910, p. 143-151). This paper however being now very difficult to obtain, I am obliged to treat this subject here also, as it is of paramount importance. No one could pretend to know the life of an African tribe if he were ignorant of these facts. I do not give them to satisfy mere curiosity, but because they play an immense part in the social life of the Bantus and reveal to us some of their most characteristic physiological ideas.

833 It is generally asserted that Bantus, especially the men, have the sexual instinct very strongly developed. This is true to a certain extent. Polygamy has increased it enormously. In a royal kraal like that of Gungunyana, the excesses were awful. (See Annotatio 14). But even amongst monogamists the indulgence in sexual relations is sometimes very great. We often heard women pounding their mealies in the middle of the night in order to escape from the assiduities of their husbands. However this statement must not be exaggerated. Amongst Bantus as amongst other races there are great differences between individuals in this domain and I have already pointed to the fact that hundreds, and even thousands of young and grown up men can remain continent for months and years in the Institutions and the Compounds of South Africa.

The fact that heathens also submit themselves readily to the prohibition of sexual intercourse during more or less protracted periods for the welfare of the community shows that even in the primitive state Bantus are capable of exercising control over themselves in that domain.

1[See p. 519 in these categories or in M6--Analyst]

to hinder the child from growing and to put in its place, by means of her enchantments, a snake, a hare, a quail or an antelope!

After the birth, owing to possible contamination by the lochia, sexual intercourse is prohibited till the rite of tying the cotton string (p. 56) has taken place. It is then allowed, but conception must be avoided till weaning, when relations are resumed in the normal way, and this goes on till the time when the woman is no longer able to bring forth children. I know of no special rules in connection with the menopause.

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But, amongst Bantus, sexual relations are not an individual affair, as amongst nations more advanced in evolution. There is a mysterious relation between them and the collective life of the community. Hence the fact that, on certain given occasions, they are recommended, even ordered, or prohibited.

1) Cases of recommendation.

Sexual relations must take place on two principal occasions : when the inmates of a village abandon it and go elsewhere to found a new one, and when the widows perform the painful rite of "lahla khombo" (to cast away misfortune). We shall see, when studying these customs, that sexual relations have here a twofold signification : 1) they "consolidate" the little community in its new abode, viz. they strengthen its structure by confirming the authority of its chief ; 2) they provide the principal means of getting rid of all contamination, especially of the defilement connected with death. (Annotatio 13.)[1]

2) Cases of prohibition.

Married people are not considered as being in a state of defilement, as mourners are, for example. Yet this class of persons, called "ba-ku-khila," constitute a danger for those members of the community who are in a weak state of health. They must not come in contact with the circumcised, because in that case their wounds would not heal properly.

1 [See pp. 518-519 in these categories or in vol.--Analyst]

587 393 428 768

live in the village, the family council will certainly object strongly to her wish, as her departure would mean that the village would cease to exist. But in the case of the younger widows it is quite possible that an exception to the ordinary law would be allowed if they insisted upon choosing another husband (1).

After all, this is but a preliminary consultation, and the men who are rejoicing at the idea of getting new wives will perhaps be badly deceived later on, as we shall see. However the man provisionally chosen as the future husband of a widow, will at once pay visits to her, "march to her" (ku mu fambela), according to the technical expression.

765 783 833

d) *The casting away of misfortune.* But before any new and happy life can begin for the widows, they have still to go through a very hard trial. They must perform the *lahla khombo*, the throwing away of the malediction of death, and this is much more difficult for them than for the grave-diggers or the other members of the village. The main point in this strange act of purification is this ; before a widow can become the wife of her new husband, she must have sexual intercourse with another man whom she deceives. Should she succeed in freeing herself from him so that the act keeps its ritual character, s. n. i. (see Annotatio 2)[1], this man will take on himself the malediction of death, and she will be purified. On the contrary, should the man accomplish the whole act, the widow has failed and will return home with shame and in despair! Here is a description of this sad expedition of the widows. It takes place a few days after the gathering just described. The men of the village send the widows away, telling them : "Go and scatter (hangalasa) the malediction through the country and get rid of it before some other misfortune happens to us."

(1) What would happen should the widow choose a husband outside her husband's family? To the mind of a heathen woman the idea would never occur. But suppose a Christian widow, having only married natives, refuses to become their wife, her conscience forbidding her to contract a polygamic union. Her case would be very hard indeed, as I do not think her wish would be taken into consideration by heathen relatives. It would have to be brought before the White magistrate, who would probably try to help the widow. I think that, even if the woman consented to submit such family matters to the European court, she would have to give the *lobolo* or her children back to her brothers-in-law, and that might be an impossibility for her. It would be interesting to know how Native Commissioners proceed in such cases.

1[See p. 516 in these categories as in IK.--Analyst]

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

765 783 833 With their conical baskets on their heads they all go, each accompanied by a friend who will act as witness. They pay a visit to some distant relative and try to flirt with the men of the village. Their aim is clearly understood ; morals are so dissolute that it is not difficult for them to attain their desire. (But the purifying act is useless unless interrupted abruptly before its completion). If the widow succeeds, she is full of joy, and comes back saying : "I have coped with the mourning, I have overcome it." Should she not succeed, she has then been "overcome by the mourning." This is a serious condition; which can only be dealt with by special medicines. The man who has unconsciously purified a widow and who becomes aware of it, will also have recourse to the *ñanga* to get rid of the pollution of death (1). The widows endeavour to come back all together ; they stand by the main entrance of the village and announce their success with the *mikulungwana* shouts, which mean at the same time joy and sorrow. Everyone meets them there, and they form a procession to the grave to tell the deceased what has happened : "You have left us in the open field ; we have had to go through a painful trial ; it would not have been so if you had not left us!" But, after all, this is a day of rejoicing, and the men, the heirs to the widows, are particularly pleased. The same day the widows put on a new undergarment and complete their purification by another steam bath.

At this time the mourning is said *to have ripened* (wupfile). The widow's hair has grown again. What remains is to *kill the mourning* (dlaya nkosi). This is done by the man who "marches to" or visits the widow. In the evening, he is allowed into her hut : they make a fire in it, put into the fire two pills of a purifying medicine, and expose their limbs to the smoke. Then they put it out with their own water, after which they can have sexual relations without harm. A certain time must, however, elapse before the adjudication of the inheritance takes place.

(1) He may also avoid the danger of being killed by the contamination of death in the following manner : Supposing that the woman who tries to seduce him is a widow, he tears off a little piece of her most intimate undergarment before the act. Later on he asks a ñanga to prepare a medicine into which this bit of clothing will be introduced. Then he covers himself with a blanket, burns the medicinal pill on a live charcoal and inhales the smoke. He is safe, and the woman also has been cleansed.

124 178 164 783 765 The description I have given of the *lahla khombo*, translating exactly the narratives of Mbozâ, Elias, and an old widower called Magingi, refers to the rite as it was performed in the normal fashion some twenty years ago amongst the Ba-Ronga. Now customs are changing. There is, all around the town of Lourenço Marques, an agglomeration of Natives coming from many tribes. Immorality there has become terrible owing especially to alcoholic excesses, a free and enormous sale of adulterated wine taking place in this region. The widows are sure to find there a hundred men for each of them, when they wish to cast away their defilement. But in this promiscuity the poison of syphilis makes terrible ravages. According to our medical missionary, 90 % of the 783 765 178 833 Natives are contaminated by this disease. When the men up country saw that their wives came back ritually purified but physically contaminated, they began themselves to accomplish the necessary act. This has become the general custom to such an extent that, when a widow goes to Majlangalen, (such is the name of that hell of drunkenness and immorality), it is now said of her : "She will refuse to stay with her legal heirs!" However the law of the *lahla khombo nhoben*, to cast away the malediction in the bush, remains inexorable in the three cases where the defilement is considered as being of the worst kind : if the [845] husband died of phthisis or of leprosy, or if the woman has had twins.

Old widows who can find no lovers may be purified by means of drugs.

765 587 e) *The year of widowhood.* Though the widows have found new husbands, they still remain in the old kraal. They must accomplish there "a full hoe," viz. a whole year of ploughing. In their new fields they leave the dry sticks of the mealies of the year before, in such a way that everybody passing by will know at once that this is the field of a widow. But what they harvest this year will belong to the new husband. They have now the right to *fambelana*, viz. to go to each other. The suitor brings clothing to the woman, and the woman pays him visits with jars of beer. They belong more or less to each other. But the marriage of the inherited woman is not absolutely settled. Her

621 396 nature of that social unit, the Thonga *muti*. I shall give the sequence of these rites first in the Northern clans, according to the description of Viguet, and secondly amongst the Ba-Ronga, according to Mboza.

I. *In the Northern clans.*

621 787 1) The headman goes first to examine some spots where he would like to build. He *breaks small twigs* from various trees 784 and brings them home.

2) The bones are consulted and help in *making a choice*. The 833 twigs are placed on a mat one after the other. When the stone of the *kanye* (see Part VI) falls in a certain way in front of one of the twigs, this shows that the tree from which it has been broken is the one near which the hut of the headman must be built.

3) Building material is collected. When everything is ready to proceed to the construction of the huts, the headman goes with his principal wife to the spot chosen. They leave the old village for ever ; they must not return to it any more. In the evening they have *sexual relations* in the new place and in the morning they tie together some tufts of living grass. Next day all the people of the old village must come and step upon this grass. This rite is called to *tie the village* (boha muti).

621 595 784 834 4) Then begins the period, of about one month, called *buhlapfa*, time of moving, which has its laws. Two great taboos dominate it : 1) Sexual relations are absolutely prohibited. Should any one transgress this law, he has sinned gravely against the headman ; he has stolen the village (yiba muti). The headman will be ill, perhaps paralysed. The guilty woman will also be punished : she will not be able to bear children again ; she will be "tied by the village" (bohiwa hi muti). The culprits have "crossed the way of the master of the village" (tjemakanya). Strange to say, the headman himself is bound by this law. He must have no relations *with his younger wives*, because the village belongs to the principal spouse. Should such a transgression be discovered, the work

621 824 765 troublesome and he should wish to remove them, he must ask some one else to do it. On the day of his death, or rather when his hut is crushed down, a branch of that tree will be put on the place where the threshhold was, and another used to close the main entrance of the village, a new entrance being then made through the fence and used as the gate during the rest of the mourning period.

621 833 3) He has sexual relations on the new spot on the first night with his principal wife ; in this way he will *fuya muri*, viz. "possess this tree," and also *fuya muti*, "possess the village." The Ronga *fuya* corresponds here also to the *boha* of the Northern clans (Compare boha puri and fuya ñwana, page 57). If someone precedes him in sexual intercourse, he is guilty ; he has "preceded the village" (rangela muti). By this act the headman has definitely left the old village. The others can go back to it to fetch what remains ; for him it is taboo.

621 831 834 342 4) The same day, all the inhabitants come and move all the roofs, if it is possible to do this in one day. One hut is rapidly built to afford shelter to the inhabitants, in case of rain. The first roof to be transported is that of the hut of the principal wife. This is also done to the accompaniment of obscene songs. These songs are not allowed when only one hut is transported, which may happen when some one goes to live in another village.

It is definitely a custom which goes with the moving of a whole village.

5) The following day two huts are erected, one for the men, the other for the women, because they must not sleep together. "They are still in the bush ; it is buhlapfa ; the village is not yet firm." Those who break this law cause injury to the headman. The bones will soon reveal that "he has been preceded as regards the village ; (a rangeliwile muti)." All the huts are smeared twice ; the women begin to sleep in them, but not the men. The fence and the main entrance must first be prepared.

621 789 6) The *main entrance* (mharana). The men pull up the grass all the way from the back hut to the place where the main entrance must be, so as to make a road all through the village. All the dried plants weeded out during this operation are carefully

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

621 789 824 gathered in a heap. The headman, on the advice of the medicine man, cuts from certain very vigorous trees such as the nkanye and the ntjondjo, two branches which can live when transplanted. He digs holes on both sides of the entrance and puts the branches into them. Across the gateway, he buries a third branch of the ntjopfa tree, "which causes oblivion" (p. 58): this will be smeared with special drugs in order to increase its efficacy ; it is intended to prevent the baloyi, witches and people speaking bad words, (lit "with bad lips"), from thinking about the village and spoiling it.

621 833 789 7) On the evening of that day, the headman and his principal wife have intercourse in their hut and, at dawn, while it is still dark, they go and wash their hands at the main entrance. Mboza does not say that all the other couples must do the same, or trample on the spot. In Nondwane this is sufficient and the rite does not apply to the other couples. But at Manyisa, midway between Lourenço Marques and Khosen, where the Djonga customs are sometimes met with, all the couples must have relations, one after the other, according to order of precedence. It is deemed so important to keep the due order in this "giving to each other the right of resuming sexual life" that, should an elder brother have been absent when the village moved, on his return he must undergo a special treatment in a neighbouring village, during a few days, to avoid any bad consequences resulting from having been unlawfully "preceded" (rangeliwa).

621 789 782 756 8) After the night during which this sexual rite has taken place, at daybreak, all the dried grass is piled in front of the main hut and burnt ritually. The headman throws into the fire a special medicinal pill in order to *give the village over* to his people (nyiketa muti). They all warm their bodies at the blaze, and go and set fire to all the other heaps of dried grass which they made when clearing the soil.

9) The medicine man comes on that same day, and sprinkles the fence with his drugs, in order to protect the village against bush fires, wizards and disease. He walks all round the fence saying : "Happy village! May misfortune not enter here! These are my drugs!" — He starts from one of the poles of the main

621 1) *Social rites.* The muti, as we have seen, is a little organised
396 community having its own laws, amongst which the most important
833 seems to be the law of hierarchy. The elder brother is the undisputed
768 master and no one can supersede him. He is the owner of the village. No one must "steal it" from him. Should any one do so, the whole community would suffer and no children would be born ; the life of the organism would be deeply affected. That is the reason why the headman must go first with his principal wife to have relations with her in the new village, and thus *take possession* of it or *tie* it. For this same reason, when the headman dies, the village *must* move. It is taboo to remain in it. Until the inheritance has been distributed, it is still *his home* (kwa kwe) ; but as soon as this ceremony has taken place, the villagers must go away, and close the door with a thorny branch. The part played by the
621 principal wife in all these ceremonies is most remarkable. It is
595 absolutely imperative that the headman should "tie the village" with her,
562 and not with another of his spouses. Should she be very old, the law
768 must be observed all the same ; should she be ill, and unable to have sexual
764 relations, the village simply cannot be moved. In the Northern clans we see her taking the shield and the assagai, closing the village and "giving it" to the inmates, even performing a sacrifice and praying to the gods. It is very rare to see a woman presiding at a public religious ceremony ; but she is the owner of the village as well as the headman. Moving is imperative when she dies as well as after the death of the headman. The main gate must also be closed and a new entrance made in the fence to be used during the year of mourning ; in the case of her death, this opening must be made on the left of the regular *mharana*, whilst, when the husband dies, it is made on the right side ; just as in the hut, when the corpse is removed for burial. (See page 138.)

351 2) *Protective rites.* These are those which concern the fence. This
789 fence does not afford material protection. The branches dry up very
621 soon and, in the case of a bush-fire, for instance, they would do more harm than good. It is a spiritual protection, a barrier of charms, of magic influences, to prevent the entrance of wizards and of all the hostile powers of the bush. We shall understand this better when treating of witchcraft superstitions. (Part VI.)

182 3) *Passage rites.* The reader will have been surprised to observe
621 amongst the ceremonies of the moving of villages, many features
829 which we have already met with in the circumcision school, or in the mourning customs. At first sight there seems to be no relation whatever between the moving of a village, the initiation of boys and the

796 gait, brandishing sticks with pieces of red cloth attached as
273 pennants. They are in search of full barrels! It must be said
786 that the inebriety produced by the bukanye is of a rather mild type, as this Native beer contains very little alcohol ; but the quantity absorbed is so enormous that it ends by going to their heads : this is more especially so with the bukanye brewed from a species of nkanye called *nunge*, which appears to be stronger and more intoxicating.

796 How far does sexual licence go during the bukanye ? Not to
273 the point of general promiscuity, as amongst the Ba-Pedi after the circumcision school. However many cases of adultery occur.
833 Men and women forget the elementary rules of condvet. They
786 attend to the wants of nature in the same places, which is taboo under ordinary circumstances : "Nau a wa ha tiyi,"—"the law is no longer in force."

796 Still, in the midst of all this carnival, the payment of the tax
273 must not be forgotten... This is the time to carry to the chief
643 the liquor which is flowing so freely on all sides, but of which
651 he claims the lion's share. Each petty chief sends his people to the capital with brimming jars. This is termed "lumisa hosi," supplying the chief with new wine. The women do not enter the capital at once, but go to one of the counsellors, who promptly abstracts a couple of jars for his own use. The chief returns one or two jars to the carriers, as they have come a long way and are doubtless thirsty ; the remainder will be kept to refresh the very numerous guests at the Court ; any coming from afar will spend the night and not return until the next day. I have seen a company of these women carrying baskets
539 full of makanye to Muzila. How graceful was the Indian file winding its way along the path and singing, amongst others, the following chorus : (See for further particulars *Chants et Contes des Ba-Ronga*, page 46.)

Chwe! Chwe! Hi laba shimungu — Leshi ka — Le tilwen !
Chwe! Chwe! Shimungu hi mani ? — Hi Mzila ! — Hi Mzila !
Hi! Hi! We seek the hawk ! — Who soars — In the sky!
Hi! Hi! Who is the hawk ? — It is Mzila ! — It is Mzila!

Latin Notes for Medical Men and Ethnographers

291 "Annotatio prima (P. 40).--'Shifado' quo quisque Thonga
845 extremum penem vestit, spheroides excavataque res est;
848 quod tegimentum ex iis, quae ad pudorem et munditiem perti-
881 nent, postulatur. Si quis schifado suum amisit, ei dedecoriest."

Note 1 (page 40). Shifado, with which every Thonga covers the end of his penis, is a spherical and hollowed-out object; this covering is demanded from those who are concerned with decency and cleanliness. If anyone has lost his schifado [sic] he is disgraced.

"Olim apud Thonga, qui a populo Zulo illum morem acceperunt, viri, quod linguâ 'mbayi' id est fistulam quandam ex foliis textis palmae quae 'milala' dicitur, ferre solebant.

[At one time among the Thonga, who took over this custom from the Zulu people, the men used to wear what in their language is called mbayi, that is, some kind of tube made of palm leaves woven together which is called milala.]

"Ultima 'mbayi' anno 1895 vel 1896 post Christum natum visa sunt. Quod shifado ex parvae cucurbitae cortice aut duro et excavato accurateque polito ligno factum, summo veretro affixum, minime incommode ferre videntur."

[The last mbayi were seen in the year 1895 or 1896. Because the shifado is made of the rind of a small gourd or of hard, hollowed-out and carefully polished wood, and attached at the top of the private parts, it seems that it can be worn with the minimum of discomfort.]

833 "Annotatio secunda (P. 56). S. n. i, sc. semine non im-
851 misso. Ad hoc, marito sperma foras spargendum est (a nga
842 mu weleri): hic est coitus rite factus et quasi lustralis. Inde,
765 uxor in manus utriusque sordes (thyaka ra bona) sumit, qui-
783 bus umbilicum illinit."

[Note 2 (page 56). S. n. i., that is, the semen has not been injected. Moreover the husband must eject his sperms outside of the body (a nga mu weleri): this is the coitus properly executed and, as it were, lustral. Then the wife takes in her hands the filth of both (thyaka ra bona) and smears the navel with it.]

"Annotatio tertia (P. 57). Corpus infimum pueri ex adverso et a tergo peni pater tangit.

[Note 3 (page 57). The father touches with his penis the lowest part of the boy's body from the front and from behind.]

831 "Annotatio quarta (P. 88). Hae sunt formulae:
881 Shana khololwane ma ri tiba le'ri onhaka milebe?
Novistisne avem quae labra minora laedit?

832 Sometimes the girls measure their labia with small sticks
836 and boast of their length to their companions and even to their
304 bridegrooms. The girls follow these perverse practices for
881 no other reason than for the sake of their future husband.
171 Among the Ba-Pedi the husband may, if he thinks that his bride has not sufficiently stretched her labia, send her home and demand his bulls back. The girls keep a pot full of food ready and cover it with a lid. In the evening the boys come to the girls and give them a small gift in order to be admitted. In the house they sit down on the floor and watch the girls eating from a pot with their fingers. The girls whose milebe are four digits long eat using four fingers: they are bakulu, that is, adult, and they enjoy their lovers. Or they use only three fingers and sometimes two. The young girls eat with the palms of their hands.]

765 "Annotatio sexta (P. 154). Seu quis per ætatem iam pro-
783 vectam imbecillior factus erit, sive qualibet de causa tam
833 impotens ut sperma emittere non possit (a nga kumi mati), ceteri viri quid fiat sciscitabuntur. Quod si utique parum procedit, tota inhibetur cærimonia. Qui vero se invicem eodem ritu miscere debebant, iis ritum conficere non fas est. Ille jejunio, per quinque dies, prout res postulat, artissime utetur, cui medicinæ ad rem accommodatæ exquirentur.

[Note 6 (page 154). If someone should have become feeble because of advanced age, or if for some reason he should be so impotent that he cannot emit sperms (a nga kumi mati), other men ask what should be done. For if it proceeds quite insufficiently, the whole ceremony is held up. And those who should have had intercourse in turn in the same ritual fashion are not permitted to complete the rite. He [the impotent man] has to fast very strictly for five days as the situation requires and the remedies appropriate to the situation will be sought.]

843 "Annotatio septima (P. 154). Nocens maritus uxorque sui
834 purgandi causà alium ritum peragent. Uxor mariti suaque
841 pudenda veste intima et inquinatissima tergebit, quam postea comburet.

Ambo, ad ignem accedentes, caput manusque calefacient. Inde cinerem collectum mulier adipe miscet, quo mariti artus illinit, digitis bracchiis cruribusque tractis, quod 'lula' dicitur. Postea, noctibus duabus sequentibus, coibunt. Si maritus, non cum uxore sua, sed cum puella quadam ex alio vico, stupri consuetudinem junxerit, huic fossorium donabitur, ut ritum 'lula' perfectum veniat.

[Note 7 (page 154). If the husband and the wife are guilty of an offense, they perform another rite for the sake of purging themselves. The wife will cover her husband's and

843 her own pudenda with a much befouled intimate garment which
834 she afterwards burns.
841 Going to the fire they both warm their head and their hands. Then the woman mixes the ashes she has collected with fat and smears it over her husband's limbs, rubbing along his fingers, his arms, and his legs, which is called lula. Afterwards, in the two nights following, they will have intercourse. If the husband has had sexual intercourse not with his wife but with some girl from another village from lustful desire he will be given a fossorium so that the rite lula will come to its completion.]

765 "Annotatio octava (P. 155). Si mulieris parentes procul
783 habitant, maritus eius comes itineris erit, quacum superiore
833 nocte coibit, ad aquæ lustrali vim novam dandam."
505 [Note 8 (page 155). If the woman's parents live far away, her husband will be her companion on the way and he will have sexual intercourse with her the night before in order to give the lustral water new power.]

765 "Annotatio nona (P. 160). Faciebat dum 'Khunye khunye';
535 quibus verbis significatur coitus (khunyeta)."
831 [Note 9 (page 160). She was saying Khunye, khunye during
834 this time; these words signify coitus (khunyeta).

"Annotatio decima (P. 160). Carminum, morum temporis marginalis natura eo obscenior est quo nobilior defunctus fuit. Viguetus narrat: [518] 'Duce vel uno ex principibus mortuo, luctuque consueto præterito, luctum privatum, ad quem boves immolentur, celebrari. Carnem ad baculos humi fixos alligari; homines inde mulierem vocare, eamque posteriorem vestem exuere juberi, neque ullam vestem nisi anteriorem habere quam, si velit, exuere ei liceat. Eam, postea, divaricaturam esse ad unam ex carnis particulis dentibus apprehendendam ita prominentem ut omnes viri eius pudenda videant, quod plerumque 'taboo' (id est nefas) sit.'"

[Note 10 (page 160). The nature of the songs, a custom of the marginal period, is the more obscene the greater the nobility of the deceased person was. Viguet relates: [518] "When the leader or one of the chiefs is dead and the usual mourning has passed, they stage a private mourning at which bulls are sacrificed. They tie the flesh to poles fixed in the ground; then the men call a woman and order her to take off the clothes on her back and they do not allow her to have any clothes on except the one in front which, if she wants to, she may also take off. Then she must seize one of the bits of meat with her teeth, bending forward in such a

765 "Annotatio tertia decima (P. 213). Cærimoniis purification-
783 is, ubi res genitales primas obtinent partes, ita explicatis,
833 quaeramus quid significent ritus illi.
587 Mors est res quæ imprimis homines contaminat. Omnia polluit quae tangit, non homines tantum ipsos sed etiam quæ mortui fuerunt.

Apud homines, propinqui mors vitæ fontes imprimis afficit, id est membrorum succos qui vitam creant. Itaque et mulieris succi vaginales et viri succi spermatici tollendi sunt: in coitu autem, sub legibus certis sunt tollendi.

Cum vidua lustratur, aut a peregrino aut a novo marito purificatur.

1) Ut recta viduæ purificatio fiat, abrumpendus est coitus, et vir, antequam semen emittat, repellendus; vir erit tum contaminatus at mulier purgata. Vir si in coitu feminam eludentem animadverterit, eam viduam esse et ipsum occidere velle intelleget, tum comites vocat qui, mulierem apprehendentes, dum vir in sinum ejus semen emiterit, vi continebunt; mulier tum polluta manebit; quod querebat, non habebit. Vir contra erit sine damno: contaminatus non erit. [519]

2) Cum purificatio a novo efficitur marito, tum ambo in casam se includunt. Res agitur permagna: tabacum ne hauriant! Medicamenta potant singularia. Tum toties cœunt deinceps quoties vir ferre valet, decies et sæpius si potest. Sed toties vir semen extrinsecus emittit: 'bayisanyana ba fanela ku huma, i.e. amovendi sunt pueri (spermatozoa),' ut dicit unus ex eis qui me de his rebus certiorem fecerunt. Nunc sunt fontes vitæ apud virum purgati, quod fieri necesse erat, cum esset et ipse contaminatione impurus. Mulier quoque pura est, haud dubie medicamentorum beneficio quæ, antequam coirent, potaverunt ambo.

Quæ interpretatio ritum recte explicat cum ab impuris hominibus perpetratur. Sed cum a puris parentibus perpetratur, ut de 'boha puri' agitur (p. 56), tum res alio modo est explananda. Pater et mater cingulum infantis e lino xylino factum genitalibus succis inlinunt, ut infans eorum vitalibus succis corroboretur et in vitam gentis ita recipiatur.

These physiological conceptions, though they may be absolutely false from the scientific point of view, certainly proceed from deep intuitions regarding the mystery of life. I insist on the fact that they are not derived from religious ideas. It is a mistake to attempt to explain the whole life of the Bantus by their religion alone, as many writers are inclined to do. These sexual practices are not more religious than those prophylactic measures which we ourselves employ to preserve ourselves from tuberculosis or small pox. They

765 are dictated by a special notion of contagion which is admittedly
725 false, scientifically speaking."
833 [Note 13 (page 213). After we have thus explained the cere-
587 monies of purification in which genital matters play the primary role, we shall inquire into the significance of these rites.

Death is something that contaminates men above all. It pollutes everything that it touches, not men themselves only, but also the things that belonged to a dead person.

Among men, the death of a relative affects first of all the sources of life, that is to say, the juices of the limbs that create life. Therefore both the vaginal juices of a woman and the man's spermatic fluid must be removed: in coitus, however, they must be removed according to certain rules:

When a widow purifies herself, she is purified by a stranger or by a new husband.

1) In order that the purification of the widow proceeds correctly, the intercourse must be broken off and the man must be pushed back before he ejaculates his semen; then the man will be contaminated and the woman will be purged. If the man notices that the woman is trying to evade him during coitus he realizes that she is a widow and that she wants him to perish. Immediately he calls his companions who, seizing the woman, will hold her by force while the man ejects his semen into her vagina; in that case the woman will remain polluted and what she wanted she will not have. The man, on the other hand, will be without blame: he will not be contaminated. [519]

2) When the purification is effected by the new husband, then both seclude themselves in the house. One matter is urged particularly strongly: that they do not smoke any tobacco! They drink curious medicines. Then they have intercourse as many times in a row as the man can last, ten times and more if he is able. But as many times as they have intercourse the man ejaculates his semen externally: bayisanyana ba fanela ku huma, that is, "the children (spermatozoa) must be removed," as one of those who informed me about these things said. Now the sources of life of the man are purged, something which had to be done while he was impure with contamination. The woman is also pure, doubtless on account of the medicines which they drank together before they had sexual intercourse.

This interpretation explains the rite correctly, provided it is carried out by impure men. But when it is executed by pure parents, as when it is concerned with the boha puri (page 56), then the matter must be explained in a different

765 fashion. The father and mother smear the infant's girdle
783 made of cotton flax with their genital juices so that the infant
833 becomes invigorated by their vital juices and thus may be
587 received into the life of the tribe.

These physiological conceptions, though they may be absolutely false from the scientific point of view, certainly proceed from deep intuitions regarding the mystery of life. I insist on the fact that they are not derived from religious ideas. It is a mistake to attempt to explain the whole life of the Bantus by their religion alone, as many writers are inclined to do. These sexual practices are not more religious than those prophylactic measures which we ourselves employ to preserve ourselves from tuberculosis or small pox. They are dictated by a special notion of contagion which is admittedly false, scientifically speaking.]

595 "Annotatio quarta decima (P. 285). Doctori G. Liengmei,
833 nostro medico, cum sæpe curaret viros qui medicinam
842 petebant qua infantes procrearent, fassi sunt se singulis noctibus cum tribus vel quatuor uxoribus coire. (A monogamis quibusdam audivimus uxorem adeo fatigari ut noctu exiret laboratum ut a marito evaderet.) Cum medicus eos hortaretur ut quinque dies concubitu omnino abstinerent, nunquam id concedere potuerunt. Volebant enim facultatem generandi recuperare libidine non omissa. Dicuntur etiam cum vires cupiditatibus nondum pares esse videantur, remedia quædam adhibere sive ut venerem excitent sive ut uxores prægnantes fiant. Duplex fit medicatio. Primum secti testiculi hirci—(quod animal fatigari negatur, mbuti a yi karali)—cum plurimis herbis mixti coquuntur et a viro eduntur. Deinde alias herbas collectas in cerevisiam injicit. Tantum aiunt esse effectum ut viro qui non amplius duas uxores habeat, non sit ea re [520] utendum, ne, illis non sufficientibus, cum aliorum uxoribus stuprum committat, quod ei sit offensioni.

Viri casti, ut in loco Mpfumo videre licet, in sua casa dormiunt et interdum uxorem quam cupiunt ad se vocant. Plerique tamen, lege sibi imposita, ne discordia inter uxores erumpat, mensem unum in casa singularum uxorum vicissim agunt.

Qui plures habent uxores aliis etiam medicaments utuntur ad libidinem excitandam. Quorum unum putant ad effectum maxime valere: Medicus, cum se ipse curavit, in locum montium secedit, quo cynocephali feminæ urinam menstruali sanguine mixtam emittere solent. Quod manet in saxis et fœdissimam diffundit odorem, medicus excipiens coquit, et ex eo magnas conficit pillas quas emptoribus vendit. Hi eas-

595 in cerevisiam injiciunt.
833 Quod medicamentum ad gravia vulnera curanda quoque
842 conferunt, et liberis praebent cum caput ut cynocephali jactant."

[Note 14 (page 285). Doctor G. Liengmei, our physician, often took care of men who asked for medicine that would produce children. They confessed to him that they often slept with three or four wives in one single night. (From some monogamous men we heard that a wife would get so tired that she would go out at night to work just to escape from her husband.) When the doctor told them to abstain altogether from intercourse for five days they were never able to agree to that. For they wanted to regain their generative faculty without giving up their lust. They are said to employ certain remedies even when their powers no longer appear equal to their desires, either in order to excite their sexual desire or to make their wives pregnant. There is a two-fold remedy. First, a man cuts the testicles off a goat--(this animal does not tire, it is asserted, mbuti a yi karali)--and boils them mixed with numerous herbs; then he eats them. Next he collects other herbs and puts them into his beer. They claim that this has such an effect that the man who has no more than two wives should not use this remedy [520] lest, because his own would not be enough for him, he should commit fornication with the wives of others, which would be a grave offense on his part.

595 Virtuous men such as one can find in the village of Mpfumo sleep in their own houses and call for the wife whom they desire. Most of them have imposed upon themselves the law not to let any discord break out among their wives: therefore they spend one month in turn in the house of a particular wife.

595 Those who have several wives use still other remedies to
756 excite their sexual desire. Of these remedies they believe
833 one to be particularly effective: The medicine man, after
278 he has rested, retreats into the hills where the female baboons are wont to emit their urine mixed with the menstrual blood. That which remains on the rocks and which gives off an abominable smell the medicine man takes up and boils; from this he makes large pills that he sells to all buyers. The latter put them into their beer.

They also use this remedy to cure grave wounds, and they give it to their children when they shake their heads like baboons.]

000 Annotatio quinta decima (P. 477). Veretro fabricatur pulvis, cuius effectus mirabilis est. Qui, bellatorum carpis